1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*au*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nim. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

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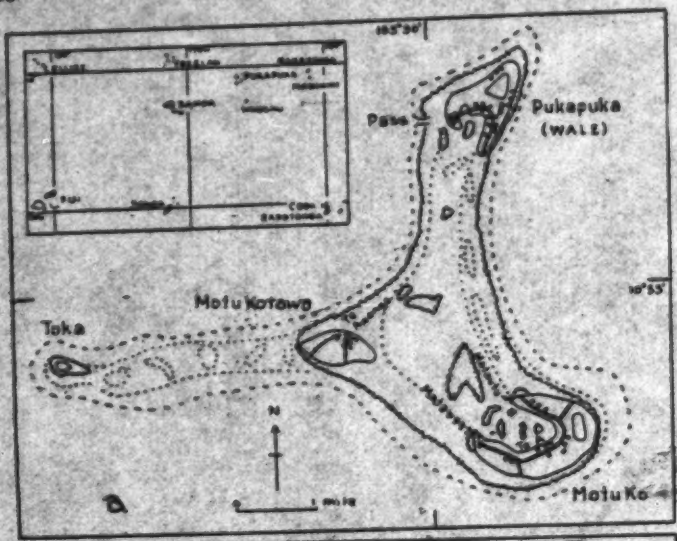

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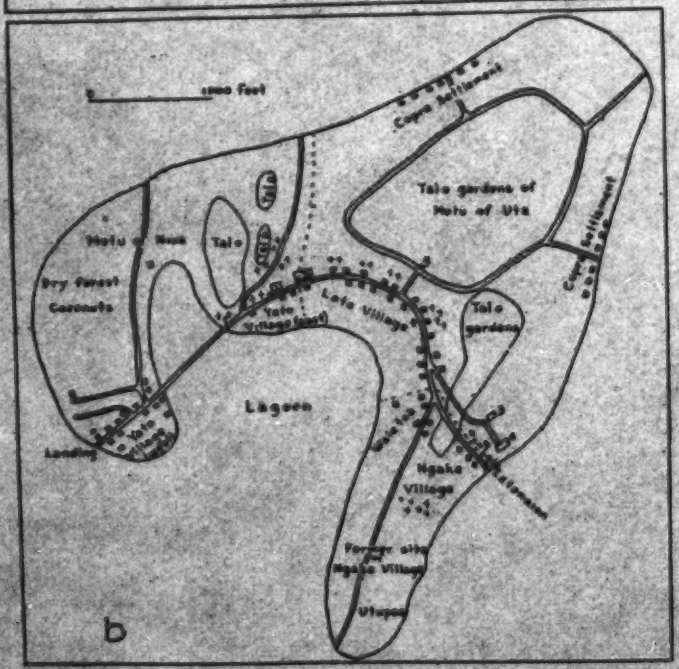

FIGURE 1.—Maps of Pukapuka. a, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets and reef circuit. b, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Manila.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto, and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two exten-
423 sions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land
621 at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through
491 Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs
487 through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

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Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Puna-ule	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langaikula	Refers to kilts (titi) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kiliuaua	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Avalua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipolo	'Cutting of polo leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Takamuui	'Circle'?
	Ulekawa	'Penis-of-sennit'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Matalīki	Sacred-isle-of-Matalīki'
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Matalīki	Long-isle-of-Matalīki'

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Matalīki (*mata* eye, *chiefly ayes*) refers to the lineage and supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matalīki (*mata iiki*, tiny stars), the name of the Pleiades.

Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*avo*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliayanga and Alitalupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *aotea* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki nuio*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

In walks over the island with Yato informants, amazement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taro from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fictitious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that chases), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae;* this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus earning the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers at once, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Motu Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[421] 613 423 311 [764] width, depending on the amount of village-owned land and the number of paternal lineages that share in the division. Each section runs from lagoon (*tai*) to outer beach (*tua*) missing out the talo beds and reserve lands owned by the village. Thus the sections of Ngake run straight through from *tai* to *tua*; those of Loto run to Uta, then stop and pick up the line again on the northern side of the reserve whence they extend to the outer beach. The cemeteries of each paternal lineage and of each sub-lineage are situated on the section of the lineage. Through patrilocal residence, all male members of the paternal lineage reside on another part of the same section of land. The *kainga* are named for the paternal lineages.

Besides the two sections running from *tai* to *tua*, the paternal lineages of Loto also own smaller sections in Uta. Four land divisions on the western side of Uta are controlled by the sub-lineages of the *pō i* Tua. The names of these divisions (*na kainga i te tuaa lalo*) are: Te Pa, Taikaiana, Te Weio-*i*-te-kilikili, Te Auma. Four divisions (*na kainga i te tuaa ngake*) on the eastern side of the reserve are divided among the sub-lineages of Yangalipeke *pō*. Their names are: Te Utu, Wala-kakala, Te Weio, Te Puapua.

[361] The lineage sections of Yato run from *tai* to *tua* on the strip of land east of the causeway, the only site of Yato in former times. Ngake informants recognise none other than these; Yato informants, feeling that the transfer of part of the village to the site west of the causeway and the opening up for residence of what was formerly tapu land enable them to speak legitimately of further sections in this western extension of Yato, state that by fiction if not by tradition, the three Yato lineages have second strips running from lagoon to Niua in the western section of the village.

421 613 241 428 The coconut trees, talo beds, and bush timbers on all sections are of two kinds: first, those owned by the people of the lineage in common and shared among all members; second, those individually owned by male and female members of the lineage who alone are allowed to plant or to own trees on the section. Coconut trees of the first type descend in the lineage corporation and are not alienable. Trees of the second type are inheritable among individual members of the lineage, but are not alienable outside of it.

423 613 692 Each section (*kainga*) is further subdivided into homestead lots named *yitwanga*. These lots are the subdivisions of the sections on which, in general, male members of the paternal lineage live with their families. Through marriage, adoption, choice, or inheritance of a house, people of different lineages come to live together on the same homestead lot, but the tendency is for all living on the same lot to be related by some kinship tie, close or remote. Only people belonging directly to the lineage that owns the section on which the lot is located may plant or privately own trees or talo beds or be said to own house sites on the lots.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

No other sites visited revealed stones. Informants stated that during early missionary days, the stones were removed to build a causeway across the taro swamp, to make walls for stone houses, and to burn for lime, which, mixed with sand, provided the mortar for the new stone houses.

The pattern of low-walled, oval or circular religious enclosures with a central stone representation of a god is an unusual development in Polynesia and recalls the structures that Gill described for Niutao in the Ellice Islands which he visited in 1872. Gill mentions that the stone representative of the god Tangaloa was a plain upright slab. The religious structure adjoined the burial ground (a common Pukapukan pattern) and consisted of "an oval low enclosure, composed of flat stones, some higher than others, each representing a distinct divinity, so that the sacred men standing inside the enclosure—the people of course outside—could worship all the gods at once" (12,p.14). It is unfortunate for comparative study that Gill did not particularize these religious enclosures in more detail.

Commemorative stones, marking the shrine of an ancestor god on a sacred clearing (*siongo*), consisted of a single upright stone set in the ground, or else several stones set on edge to form a rectangular structure two or more feet square, the enclosure being filled in with coral gravel. This type of commemorative shrine was similar to the seats (*pots*) of the priests in the god house (*wale atua*) and also to the low seat that was set before the stone representative of the god on the religious structure.

Graves

Formerly each cemetery was surrounded by a low, rectangular wall (*paepae*) of coral stones which demarcated the area set aside by the people of a lineage as their burial place. The area varied in size according to the numerical size of the lineage. Most of these walls have fallen into decay, but are observable on some cemeteries removed from the village. The stones are about 3 inches above ground and are undressed coral of different lengths and thicknesses.

Outside these walls are observable the stone *paepae* that marked the foundations of old houses of mourning (*wale matenga*). On one foundation are still seen the holes into which the wall posts of the house fitted; on another, rotting wooden posts from the dismantled house are lying on the foundation.

Within each cemetery, the graves are of three types: the modern Christian, enclosed, boxlike grave; the rectangular, open grave accorded formerly to people of rank; and the two-stone grave accorded formerly to commoners (pl.2,*B*).

Former custom was to bury with head to the east, feet to the west. Graves of chiefs (*aliki wale* and *uui aliki*) were marked by eight stones—two at the head, two at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 613 361 A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangatiale
			Vakayala
			Kui-mauila
	Muliwutu	Tauulivaka ma Muila	
		Te Vayi	
		Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakiate ma Maloki-telangi ma Tauailangi	
		Te Akongaca	
		Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui
			Te Atua-ngafa-oli
			Poiva ma Taukava
			Wakalewiti
	Tua	Matuliki ma Tamayei	
		Te Uin-talagau	
		Tupale	
		Taua	
	Yangalipule	Kui	
Yato			¡Te Umutulele
			¡Lowia
			¡Kailia
	Yauanga	Te Mauagafa	
		Tauualuega	
	Yalongo	Tawiouaga	
		Te Mangauanga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 114 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of uncut stone (*usu*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remain today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Taua; this is a big block of *punga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 103

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for place names and villages on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, see p. 14.]

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
361, 491

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116; for short description of village divisions and paths on Wale, see p. 11.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

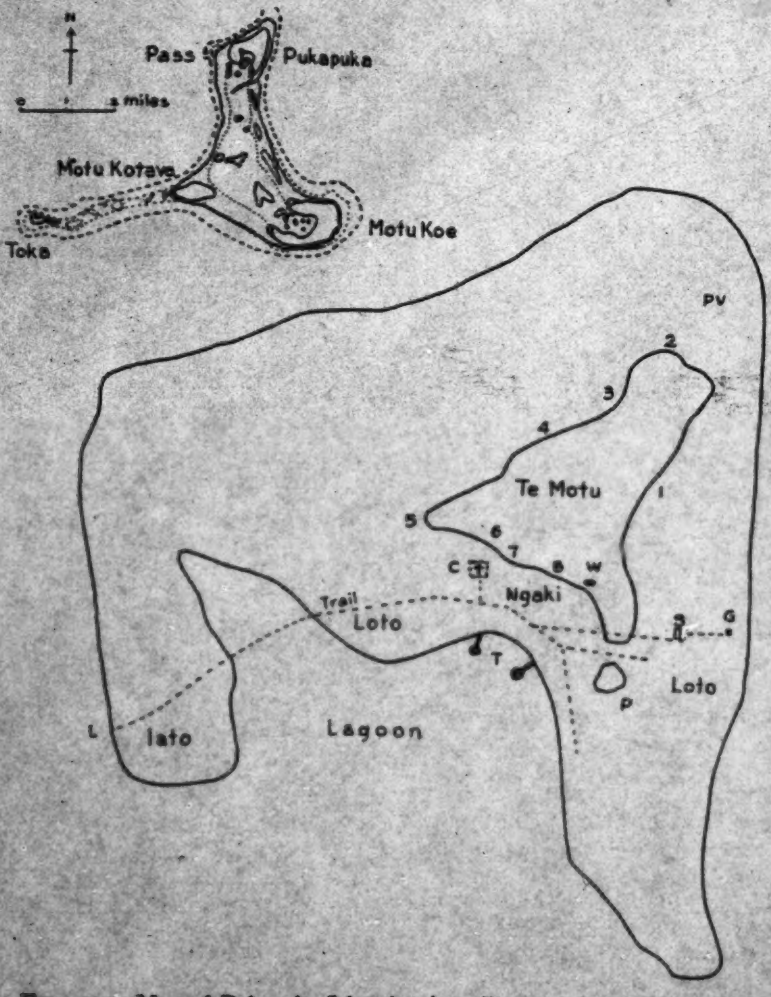

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaima; 8, Te Pa.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives on its own *motu*, where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvesting that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows:

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;